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nition of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman. This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men. Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape, and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one of the rare ones that did not center upon finance, and the sexual element, if it existed, was not avowed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta. One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

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berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721
the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726
ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of
the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the
Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File
woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder.
Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be ar-
ranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and
gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also
the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. How-
ever, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were [578]
still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between
the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walk-
ing distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take di- 602
rect vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsi- 721
bility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432
buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is
not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not
decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and
six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the
death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*bannumma*)
consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses
of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum ex-
penditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and
twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 432
slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262
The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727
ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the
payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice
taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner
woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a
serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the con-
tainer again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contami- [778]
nating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to
revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and
limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat
rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, [481
which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 602]

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is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

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place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e. the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

Ambon OH4
Tanimbar OF19
Gorontalo O64

OB1 Indonesia
Arfak OJ7
Flores OF9
Alor OF5
Igorot OA20

[22 cont.]

Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai [The Papuans of Geelvink Bay], p. 78. Sal. Müller, op. cit., p. 108. Natuurk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., XXXVII, p. 186-187. A. B. Meyer, Ausland 1882, p. 11, note.

among other tribes of that island (2). It has been said that the

2. See Haddon, "the Tugurl Head-Hunters," Int. Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. IV, 240 pp.

Langa, the Rokka [Roka], and the Woge, inhabitants of the interior of Flores, are also cannibals. They not only eat their enemies, but kill and devour their relatives when they are old and sickly. This has been denied, however (3). The mountain

3. De Hollander, Handleiding, Vol. II, p. 721. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., 9th year, Vol. IV, p. 147.

tribes of the neighboring Solor Islands cut out the hearts of those who have fallen in battle, roast them over the fire, and divide them among the victors (4). Whether or not they are eaten

4. Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal- L. en Vk., Vol. XX, p. 391, see koppenjacht [headhunting] in the index.

has not been reported. The custom of eating human flesh was likewise practiced on the Tanimbar and Timorlaut Islands (5).

5. Riedel, de kroes en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The curly-haired and straight-haired races between Celebes and Papua], p. [no number given].